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Annina Seiler

Untangling the strands: The spelling of the Épinal glossary

Abstract: This paper focuses on a group of some twenty-five Old English glosses from the Épinal glossary (c. 700). The Old English interpretations stand out due to one graphemic feature: they all use one of the runic characters *wyn* or *thorn*, which were adopted into the Old English alphabet to represent the phonemes /w/ and /θ/. A careful investigation of the sources of the lemmata reveals that, with three exceptions, these glosses stem from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* or from Paulus Orosius' *Historiae Adversum Paganos*, but not from any of the other numerous sources of the glossary. This confirms the hypothesis that different orthographic systems were in use among the glossators contributing to the Épinal/Erfurt family of glossaries. The study thus uncovers one chapter in the earliest history of English spelling and contributes to a better understanding of the composition of Épinal/Erfurt.

Introduction

The Épinal glossary is part of a group of glossaries transmitting glossographic material that can be traced back to early Anglo-Saxon England or, more precisely, Canterbury in the late 7th century. The importance of this very early manuscript cannot be underestimated: the family of glossaries to which the Épinal manuscript belongs represents almost the only evidence of what was read at the Canterbury school. Hence it is a key witness to an important period of scholarship in early Anglo-Saxon England. The glossaries document how – and which – Latin texts were studied and annotated, and they illustrate how glossed texts were transformed into alphabetical glossaries. At the same time, the use of Old English for many interpretations attests to the very early use of the vernacular as a written language. Thus, the glosses in the Épinal manuscript also constitute important evidence as to how Old English was put into writing.

In contrast to modern standardized orthographies, the spelling of early medieval attempts at vernacular writing tends to be highly idiosyncratic. Each scribe had to determine his or her own representation of the sounds of English. Some kept as closely as possible to Latin orthography, while others were more creative and came up either with spelling solutions of their own, or adopted characters from other scripts, most notably the runic alphabet, which was part of the Germanic cultural heritage of the Anglo-Saxons. Since glossaries are texts that are composite in nature, distinctive spellings may be used to identify glosses that were potentially written by the same scribe or group of scribes. In the Épinal glossary, there is evidence of a mixture of at least three different orthographies. In the present paper,

some twenty-five glosses from this manuscript are investigated, which are singled out on the basis of their spelling: These glosses all display *wyn* <þ> or *thorn* <þ>, two characters that were taken from the runic script to supplement letters for the specifically Old English sounds /w/ and /θ/. The two characters became the regular spelling solutions for the two sounds in “standard” Old English texts of the 9th and 10th century, but this was not yet the case in the late 7th and 8th century, hence their appearance in the Épinal glossary is conspicuous.¹

The Leiden family of glossaries

The Épinal glossary, dating from c. AD 700, is the oldest extant representative of a large group of related glossaries including, among others, the Leiden, Erfurt and Corpus glossaries.² The Leiden glossary (c. 800) represents an earlier stage in the arrangement of the glosses, despite the fact that the manuscript is about a hundred years younger than Épinal. Hence the group of related glossaries is often referred to as the Leiden family. The (first) Erfurt glossary (c. 820) is most closely related to Épinal; it was copied by a single Continental hand and derives from a common ancestor of Épinal and Erfurt.³ The (second) Corpus glossary (c. 825–50) transmits the Épinal/Erfurt material combined with glosses from other sources; since Corpus has correct forms where both Épinal and Erfurt display mistakes, it must be an independent copy of the original collection.⁴ The forms of Leiden, Erfurt and Corpus are therefore important witnesses to the same material and often shed light on forms in Épinal from a different angle. The glossaries of the Leiden family are interrelated in so far as they draw from a common stock of glossographic material, though they are by no means identical: they vary not only in length, but also in the arrangement of the glosses they preserve. Pfeifer comes to the conclusion that “it is impossible to establish the precise relationship of all the glossaries containing Épinal-Erfurt material to

¹ The glosses containing *wyn* or *thorn* are listed in the appendix (p. 169).

² The manuscripts are: Épinal, Vosges, Bibliothèque Multimédia Intercommunale, MS. 72 (2), 94–107; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 69, 20–36; Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Dep. Erf. CA 2^o 42, 1–14^v; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 144, 4–64^v; the Erfurt and Corpus manuscripts contain more than one glossary. For details about these and other manuscripts belonging to the same group of glossaries, cf. Joseph Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, Oxford 1974, xxi–xli; Bernhard Bischoff, Mildred Budny, Geoffrey Harlow, Malcolm B. Parkes und Joseph D. Pfeifer (Hrsg.), *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries*, Kopenhagen 1988, 13–25; Klaus Dietz, *Die frühaltenglischen Glossen der Handschrift Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz – Grimm-Nachlass 132, 2 + 139, 2*, in: *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, hrsg. von Rolf Bergmann, Elvira Glaser und Claudine Moulin-Fankhänel, Heidelberg 2001, 147–70.

³ Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), xxvi.

⁴ Bischoff, Budny, Harlow, Parkes und Pfeifer, *The Épinal* (Anm. 2), 25; Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), xxix f.

each other or to the archetype”.⁵ The largest part of the material consists of all-Latin glosses, while a smaller proportion has Old English interpretations.

The presence of Old English reveals that the glosses originate from Anglo-Saxon England; references to two people named as *Theodorus* and *Adrianus* in various glosses even make it possible to identify the exact historical context of the creation of these glossaries. Michael Lapidge⁶ has demonstrated that the glossaries, in fact, reflect the activities of Theodore of Tarsus, who was appointed archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian in 668 and held this office from 669 until his death in 690, and Hadrian, who was abbot of St. Peter and Paul from 671 until he died in 709/10.⁷ The two famous teachers appear as sources of some of the interpretations, such as the following:

Cyneris nablīs. idest citharis longiores quam psalterium. nam psalterium triangulum fit. theodorus. dixit (Leiden xii, 40) ‘Cyneris [i.e. Grk. *κίθαρα* ‘a stringed instrument’]: nablā. That is, harps which are longer than a psaltery, for a psaltery is triangular. Theodore said so.’

Larum. hragra. adrianus dicit meum esse (Cod. Sang. 913, 143) ‘Larum [i.e. Grk. *λάρος* ‘sea-gull’]: a heron. Hadrian says it is a sea-gull.’

Lapidge has interpreted such glosses as reflexes of *viva voce* teaching by the two notables;⁸ the wording of the interpretations makes it easy to imagine a classroom of Anglo-Saxon students listening to explanations of difficult vocabulary and taking notes.

5 Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), xl.

6 Michael Lapidge, *The School of Theodore and Hadrian*, in: ASE 15 (1986), 45–72, at 53–59.

7 The connection between the Leiden family of glossaries and Canterbury has recently been challenged by Rosamond McKitterick, *Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production*, in: *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book*, hrsg. von Erik Kwakkel, Rosamond McKitterick und Rodney Thomson, Leiden 2012, 60–68. Looking into the sources of the different batches of glosses in Leiden, she identifies St Gallen, where the Leiden manuscript was written, as the centre in which the glossary might also have been compiled. According to McKitterick, all but four of the forty-eight texts that provided lemmata for the Leiden glossary were available in St Gallen in the 9th century (most of the manuscripts are still extant or they are listed in a 9th-century library catalogue). While Old English glosses may very well be due to the presence of Anglo-Saxons in St Gallen, the re-affirmed early dating of the Épinal glossary renders McKitterick’s hypothesis problematic: the monastery of St Gallen was founded in AD 719; the scriptorium was apparently working from about the 2nd quarter of the 8th century (the earliest surviving charter is dated to 731). Yet, the Épinal manuscript was written as early as the late 7th century (Bischoff, Budny, Harlow, Parkes and Pfeifer, *The Épinal* (Anm. 2), 14f.). Since Épinal includes a considerable amount of the Leiden material in a more elaborate arrangement (sorted alphabetically), there must have been an ancestor of Leiden which was used by the compiler of the Épinal manuscript that cannot have been produced in St Gallen – be it in the shape of interlinear glosses or already as *glossae collectae* as in Leiden.

8 Michael Lapidge, *Old English Glossography. The Latin Context*, in: *Anglo-Latin Literature: 600–899*, hrsg. von Michael Lapidge, London 1996 [1992], 169–81, at 178; cf. also Bernhard Bischoff und Michael Lapidge (Hrsg.), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1994, at 173–9, 541.

The activities of Theodore and Hadrian as teachers are described by Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, 2) half a century later. He lists metrics, astronomy, arithmetic, ecclesiastical and biblical learning among the subjects studied. The teaching was apparently done in Latin as well as in Greek, the native language of both Theodore and Hadrian. Bede tells us that the students of the school who were still alive in his time spoke Latin and Greek as fluently as their own language. More specific details, however, cannot be deduced from Bede's account.⁹

Based on the different types of glossaries belonging to the Leiden group, it is possible to reconstruct the separate steps in the creation of the glossaries and, maybe, to gain further insights into the teaching methods of Theodore and Hadrian. The points of departure are the texts that were read and commented on at the school in Canterbury. The source texts include various books of the Bible, the Benedictine Rule, grammatical works by Donatus, Phocas, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Isidore of Seville, Hieronymus, Cassian, Orosius, Gildas, Augustine, Gregory, etc. The work on these texts apparently resulted in interlinear glossing, both in Latin and in Old English, though no such glossed manuscripts survive. It remains unclear how exactly this venture was undertaken and what role Theodore's and Hadrian's teaching played.¹⁰

The gloss cited above, rendering Greek *laros* as both OE *hragra* 'heron' and *mæw* 'sea-mew, gull', suggests that the translator might have had access to different kinds of sources, which he combined. In this instance, it is possible that Hadrian corrected what someone else had said or what the scribe assumed a *laros* was. But we can also

⁹ *Et quia litteris sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterua, scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina inrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant, ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomiae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus contraderent. Indicio est, quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Graecamque linguam aequae ut propriam, in qua nati sunt, norunt.* (André Crépin, Michael Lapidge, Pierre Monat und Philippe Robin (Hrsg.), *Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple Anglais / Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Paris 2005).

¹⁰ On the sources of the Leiden family of glossaries cf. John Henry Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin Anglo-Saxon Glossary*. Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University (Ms. Voss. Q^o Lat. N^o. 69), Cambridge 1906; Karl W. Gruber, *Die Hauptquellen des Corpus-, Épinaler und Erfurter Glossares*, in: *Romanische Forschungen* 20 (1907), 393–494; Wallace Martin Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries*, Oxford 1921; David W. Porter, *The Antwerp-London Glossaries and the First English School Text*, in: *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, hrsg. von Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari und Claudia Di Sciacca, Porto 2011, 153–178; David W. Porter, *Isidore's Etymologiae at the School of Canterbury*, in: *ASE* 43 (2014), 7–44; on the creation and function of glossaries in Anglo-Saxon England cf. Patrizia Lendinara, *Was the Glossator a Teacher?*, in: *Quaestio* 3 (2002), 1–27; Patrizia Lendinara, *Glossaries*, in: *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, hrsg. von Michael Lapidge et al., Chichester 2014; Hans Sauer, *Language and Culture: How Anglo-Saxon Glossators Adapted Latin Words and their World*, in: *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008), 437–68; Rolf H. Bremmer, *Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Q. 69 (Part 2): Schoolbook or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?*, in: *Practice in Learning. The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, hrsg. von Rolf H. Bremmer und Kees Dekker, Leuven 2010, 19–54.

imagine that the scribe came across *hragra* as a written translation (for example, as an interlinear gloss) and added Hadrian's correction.¹¹ As David Porter has recently demonstrated, not only were Theodore and Hadrian consulted as authorities on difficult words, but also Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, which Porter identifies as "the reference book of first choice for practically any question" at the school of Canterbury.¹² The *Etymologies* are, in fact, an ideal work for the purpose; they explain difficult vocabulary on the basis of similar-sounding words, which provide ideal mnemonic aids – though they are not etymologies in the modern understanding of the word.¹³ The words *cynaris* (i.e. *cinyris* from *Ecclesiasticus* 39:20) and *laros*, by the way, are absent from the *Etymologiae*; this might be the reason why Theodore and Hadrian were consulted.

In a second step, interlinear glosses were taken out of context and collected into text glossaries, so-called *glossae collectae*. In this type of glossary, the order of the head-words is the same as in the source text. Such glossaries might have been used when someone was studying a particular text. The Leiden glossary attests the *glossae collectae* stage, bringing together several groups of glosses, whose titles refer to the original sources (e.g. *De Orosio*, *De Dialogorum*) and in which the material still appears as it occurs in the texts. Porter¹⁴ has shown that not only do many interpretations in Leiden derive from Isidore's *Etymologies*, but also that the selection of lemmata sometimes depends on the *Etymologies*.

In a third step, rough alphabetical glossaries were created; different groups of *glossae collectae* were combined and put into alphabetical order based on the first letter of each lemma but ignoring the rest of the word (A-order). This stage is attested by the bulk of the material from Épinal and Erfurt. Lastly, the second letter was also taken into account in the sorting process (AB-order); this is what we find in the Corpus glossary as well as in some parts of Épinal and Erfurt. An overview of the different stages and the manuscripts in which they are attested is presented in Figure 1.¹⁵

It is important to note that the typological stages of the glossaries (*glossae collectae* → A-order → AB-order) do not correspond to the chronology of the transmission of the manuscripts: the glosses in Épinal, dating from AD 700, are mostly in A-order, whereas the much younger Leiden glossary, preserves the *glossae collectae* stage. The Corpus glossary, on the other hand, is only slightly younger than Leiden, but completely sorted

¹¹ It is easy to understand how the confusion arose in the first place: obviously someone knew that *laros* was an aquatic bird, but didn't know – or failed to convey – exactly what kind of water bird.

¹² Porter, Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Anm. 10), 13.

¹³ The *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, hrsg. von Stephan A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach und Oliver Berghof, Cambridge 2006, 22–24.

¹⁴ Porter, Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Anm. 10).

¹⁵ Lindsay, The Corpus, Épinal (Anm. 10), 1–6 still provides the most detailed account of the process of creating *glossae collectae* and of the different steps in creating alphabetical glossaries. A different strand of glossographic activity is represented by class glossaries, which bring together items belonging to the same semantic field (e.g. plant names, animals, etc.).

Interlinear glosses →	<i>glossae collectae</i> →	A-order glossary →	AB-order glossary
(not attested)	Leiden (c. 800)	Épinal (c. 700) Erfurt (c. 820)	Corpus (c. 825–850)

Fig. 1 Stages in the creation of alphabetical glossaries

in AB-order. Apart from that, the distinction between the different stages of dictionary making is not as clear-cut as my description might have made it appear. In fact, most of the extant glossaries represent a mixture of more than one stage. The Épinal and Erfurt glossaries, for example, combine words sorted after the first letter of the alphabet only with sets that take the first two letters into account. The scribe who compiled the glosses probably used various sources of glosses which were arranged in different ways. Normally, the AB-batches are much shorter and are added after the A-sections, but the pattern is not always exactly the same.¹⁶

Wyn and thorn in the Épinal glossary

The Épinal glossary consists of a total of about 3,280 entries, of which about 950 have Old English interpretations. Today, it is kept in Épinal in North-Eastern France, but the manuscript was probably written in England in the late 7th or early 8th century.¹⁷ The early history of the manuscript is unknown; it was in Moyenmoutier at least by the beginning of the 18th century, but was probably there throughout the Middle Ages. The glossary was written by a single scribe;¹⁸ it occupies the space of fourteen leaves of vellum, which are grouped into two quires. Both quires are incomplete: the middle leaf of the first quire, which once contained the end of the C batch, and the entire D and E sections, is missing as well as the last leaf of the second quire, which must have contained the remainder of the U section until the end of the glossary. The parallel transmission of the glossary in the Erfurt manuscript makes it clear that some 600 glosses are missing.¹⁹ The pages of the Épinal glossary are divided into three neatly arranged pairs of columns (a-f), which provide the Latin (or Greek) lemmata on the left (columns a, c, e) and the Latin or Old English

¹⁶ On the arrangement of the different sections cf. Joseph D. Pheifer, Relationship of the Épinal, Erfurt, Corpus, and Werden Glossaries, in: Bischoff, Budny, Harlow, Parkes und Pheifer, The Épinal (Anm. 2), 54.

¹⁷ Bischoff, Budny, Harlow, Parkes und Pheifer, The Épinal (Anm. 2), 15 f.

¹⁸ Pheifer, Old English Glosses (Anm. 2), xxii.

¹⁹ Cf. Georg Götz, Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, 5: Placidus Liber Glossarum, Glossaria Reliqua. Leipzig 1894, 353–59, 400 f; Pheifer, Old English Glosses (Anm. 2), xxi.

interpretations on the right (columns b, d, f).²⁰ Each new alphabetical section is highlighted with a larger initial.

Pheifer puts the proportion of Old English interpretations at about one quarter to one third; their distribution across the manuscript, however, is quite unequal: on folio 4v, for example, there are 111 glosses, 32 of which (i.e. about one third) have Old English interpretations; on folio 3r, on the other hand, only 13 out of 114 glosses (i.e. one tenth) are in Old English. Furthermore, vernacular interpretations usually cluster together. This suggests that some of the glossaries which fed into the archetype of Épinal/Erfurt contained predominantly Old English interpretations and that others were purely Latin-Latin. According to Pheifer, the Orosius glosses probably fall into the first group: “[t]he proportion of bilingual glosses in these [i.e. Orosius] batches (about 65%) is higher than elsewhere in Epinal-Erfurt [...] and the entries sometimes bunch together so as to approach continuous translation”.²¹

A comparison of the spelling system of the Old English material in the Épinal glossary with other early Old English texts shows that the degree of graphemic variation displayed by the Épinal glossary is unusually high. On the one hand, the number of different graphs used to represent a single sound is considerable. For the representation of /θ/ and /w/, for example, there are six different spellings each: the dental fricative /θ/ is represented by the graphs <th>, <d>, <þ>, <ð>, <t>, and <dh>; the bilabial approximant /w/ by <uu>, <u>, <p>, <uuu>, <uu>, and <Ø>.²² Other Old English texts display two to three variants at the most; furthermore, different variants are usually assigned to different sound positions (e.g. initial vs. medial/final, before certain sounds etc.). In Épinal, however, most of the graphs listed occur across different sound positions. Moreover, the most frequently used graphs for these sounds, <th> and <uu>, cover a comparatively low percentage of the total of one sound position: <th> appears only in 68 percent of all instances of /θ/ in initial position and <uu> covers 85 percent of initial /w/. In other Old English spelling systems, the leading graphs are much more consistently used, which results in percentages that are significantly higher.²³

²⁰ An excellent electronic facsimile of the Épinal manuscript with facing pages of Schlutter's diplomatic edition is available on the Internet page of the Bibliothèque Multimedia Intercommunale d'Épinal (URL: www.bmi.agglo-epinal.fr); cf. Otto B. Schlutter, *Das Épinaler und Erfurter Glossar, 1: Faksimile und Transliteration des Épinaler Glossars*, Hamburg 1912a. For a detailed description of the Épinal manuscript see Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), xxi-xxv; Bischoff, Budny, Harlow, Parkes und Pheifer, *The Épinal* (Anm. 2).

²¹ Joseph D. Pheifer, *Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury*, ASE 16 (1987), 17-44, at 27.

²² The last symbol <Ø> indicates a “zero” graph, i.e. a sound that is not represented in the spelling; this phenomenon occurs only once in Épinal (in 341 <asundun> for *aswundun*), but it is fairly common in early Old English if /w/ precedes the vowel /u/ (cf. Annina Seiler, *The Scripting of the Germanic Languages. A Comparative Study of “Spelling Difficulties” in Old English, Old High German and Old Saxon*, Zürich 2014, 100f.)

²³ For details see Seiler, *The Scripting of the Germanic Languages* (Anm. 22), 218–231.

This high degree of variability coupled with a lack of consistency suggests that the variation displayed by the Épinal glossary does not represent the graphemic spectrum of a single scribe. Rather the evidence seems to point towards a mixture of different orthographies which were used by the writers of the sources of Épinal. At least one of these scribes seems to have applied a spelling system that regularly used the two runic symbols <þ> wyn and <þ> thorn. Since the characters adopted from the runic script stand out from the Latin alphabet, these glosses can be identified as belonging to a specific subset of glosses. Obviously, other items that do not contain the sounds /w/ or /θ/, as well as many of the Latin-Latin glosses, may also derive from the same original group, but there is no way of distinguishing them from the rest of the glossary on the basis of their orthography.²⁴

Several facts show that, in general, the spelling variation in the Épinal manuscript goes back to an earlier stage of the glossary: first of all, the scribe who copied the extant Épinal manuscript was clearly not the one who introduced the runic characters since the two runes are often confused and their shapes are awkward.²⁵ In Épinal 47²⁶ *p^uaar* (with *u* superscript over *p*), the very first instance of one of the runic characters in the glossary, the scribe obviously mistook initial wyn for the letter *p*, but afterwards realized that this didn't make any sense and corrected the reading with a superscript *u*: the word is OE *war* 'sea-weed', a successful translation of the Latin lemma *alga*. Moreover, in Épinal 1037 *þus suiþae* 'so much' on folio 14r, column d, line 2, the two instances of thorn are shaped rather like wyn, i.e. with a triangular bow and without ascender:



(Photograph: bmi)

The same applies to 444 <þoot> and 564 <uuop>²⁷ for OE *wōþ* 'voice, song, speech', 601 <þupistil> for OE *þupistil* 'sow-thistle', 613 <clipae> for OE *clipe*²⁸ 'burdock' etc.

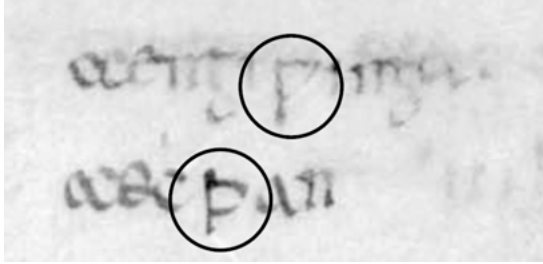
²⁴ The fact that the two characters appear at all is unusual, since wyn and thorn were adopted into the Old English alphabet only later in the period: wyn is regularly used from the 9th century onwards, thorn from the 10th (cf. Seiler, *The Scripting of the Germanic Languages* (Anm. 22), 101f., 133f.
²⁵ Cf. Otto B. Schlutter, *Zum Epinalglossar*, in: *Anglia* 35 (1912), 137–141, at 138.

²⁶ Glosses from Épinal/Erfurt are cited after Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), whose numbering corresponds to the edition in Henry Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Text Society, O.S. 83, London 1885.

²⁷ The last letter of this word has a very strange shape: the bow is eye-shaped and consists of two strokes.

²⁸ The form with /θ/ is poorly attested: the instance in Épinal is the only attestation in Old English. However, it appears to have survived into the 16th c. (cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1989, www.oed.com, s.v. 'clithe, n.'). The word is attested in several variants in the Germanic languages.

The confusion can be illustrated nicely by two consecutive glosses on folio 11r, column f, lines 17 and 18: 845 *aengi þinga* ‘in any way’ and 846 *aec þan* ‘in addition to that’ with a wyn-like, triangular bow in the first instance and a rounded, “proper” thorn in the second:



(Photograph: bmi)

This indicates that the scribe copied the shapes of wyn and thorn from an earlier exemplar, but was unfamiliar with the runic characters.

That wyn and thorn must have been present in the source of Épinal is also attested by the fact that some of the parallel glosses in the Erfurt manuscript are spelled with the letter <p> rather than the wyn or thorn of Épinal. Both manuscripts were probably copied from a common ancestor, but the scribe who wrote the Erfurt glossary must have been a native speaker of Old High German since he introduced a number of German forms into the glossary.²⁹ The Erfurt scribe also adjusted the spelling: in most cases, he or she substituted <uu, u> for wyn and <d> for thorn, which are graphs commonly employed in early Old High German for the two sounds in question. In several instances, however, the scribe apparently did not recognize or understand the Old English word and used the letter <p> instead of <p> or <þ> (though a wyn-like shape is preserved in Erfurt 564 *puod*). In fact, this feature allows us to add one more instance to the group using runic characters: the Erfurt gloss 388 *elleborus* : *poedibergæ* (for OE *wede-berge* ‘plant used against madness, hellebore’) shows that the common ancestor of Épinal and Erfurt must have contained the letter <p>, even though this gloss is not attested in the Épinal manuscript as the entire E section (as well as D and the end of C) is missing. The corresponding item in the Corpus glossary 736 *poedeberge* also attests wyn for this entry; however, since Corpus often uses the more “modern” characters wyn and eth <ð> against <uu> or <d/th> in Épinal, the evidence from this manuscript carries less weight.

es (in OHG with <-d-, -dth-, -th-, -td-, -t etc.>); the forms with OE <þ>, OHG <th, d> may derive from Gmc. **kliþōn-* or **klīþōn-* (cf. Rosemarie Lühr (Hrsg.), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*, 5: *iba – luzzilo*, Göttingen 2014, s.v. ‘kledda, kletta’.)

²⁹ On this topic cf. Heinrich Tiefenbach, *Zu den althochdeutschen Glossen im altenglischen Erfurter Glossar*, in: *Language and Civilization. A Concerted Profusion of Essays and Studies in Honour of Otto Hietsch*, hrsg. von Claudia Blank, Frankfurt a. M. 1989, 114–123; Bischoff, Budny, Harlow, Parkes and Pfeifer, *The Épinal* (Anm. 2), 17–22; Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), xxv–xxviii.

The evidence suggests further that the extant spelling variation in the Épinal glossary does not reflect a single orthographic system since, within individual *interpretamenta*, there is no mixture of the runic characters with any of the alternative spellings. In other words, those glosses of Épinal that use the runic characters do so consistently. The one exception, Épinal 564 *uuop* with <uu> (rather than wyn) as well as thorn in the same word, can be discounted since the parallel Erfurt gloss *puod* shows that the common exemplar must have had initial wyn, which, for once, was changed to <uu> by the Épinal scribe.³⁰ On the other hand, those forms in which digraphs like <uu> or <th> occur seem to employ those spelling solutions throughout, as for example 232 *uuæterthruç* (i.e. *wæter-bruh* ‘water-pipe’ as a translation of Latin *ca[ta]ractis*) with <uu>, <th> as well as a third digraph <ch>.³¹ In two cases, the same Old English word is attested in two orthographic systems: 452 *uuestsuduuind* vs. 118 *pestsubpind* and 1082 *uuiduuindae* vs. 1059 *piupindae*. The following table provides an overview of all interpretations containing more than one instance of /w/ or /θ/ sorted according to the spelling system used.³²

Table 1: Two spelling systems in the Épinal glossary for /w/ and /θ/

<uu> / <th>:	<p> / <þ>:
232 <i>uuæterthruç</i>	118 <i>pestsubpind</i>
248 <i>uuodæuistlae</i> (Er <i>uuodeuuistlae</i>)	162 <i>eastnorþpind</i>
452 <i>uuestsuduuind</i> (not in Erfurt)	444 <i>þoot</i> (Erfurt <i>puoo^d</i>)
576 <i>thæ uuannan ætrinan</i>	564 <i>uuop</i> (Erfurt <i>puod</i>)
669 <i>hsniuuith</i>	601 <i>þupistil</i>
699 <i>bisiuuiði uuerci</i>	1037 <i>þus suiþæ</i>
780 <i>thriuuiintri steor</i>	1059 <i>piupindae</i>
787 <i>thothor</i>	
877 <i>cyniuuiþan</i>	
880 <i>thēbanthorn</i>	
518 <i>uualhuuyrt</i>	
1045 <i>uuandæuuuorpæ</i>	
1082 <i>uuiduuuindae</i>	

Orthographic consistency also seems to extend to the letter *eth* <ð>, which is used twice in the interpretamentum 796 *mið naeðlae asiuiid*, but never in combination with any alternative spelling for /θ/. However, given the very limited number of

³⁰ Initial wyn is also confirmed by the Corpus glossary entry 1196 *puoð*.

³¹ On the digraphs <uu>, <th> and <ch> in Old English spelling see Annina Seiler, *Writing the Germanic Languages. The Early History of the Digraphs <th>, <ch> and <uu>*, in: *Writing Europe, 500–1450. Texts and Contexts*, hrsg. von Aidan Conti, Orietta Da Rold und Philip Shaw, Cambridge 2015, 101–121; <ch> and <gh> occur in combination with <th> in *thruç*, *slachthorn* (672, Er *slachdorn*) and *slaghtorn* (957, Er *salachthorn*).

³² The table includes only instances of /w/ before vowels other than /u/ and outside consonant clusters since in more than 80 percent of all instances those cases are spelled with single <u>.

only eight instances of *eth* in the entire glossary, this piece of evidence is inconclusive.

Sources of the wyn/thorn glosses

In view of the textual history of the Épinal glossary, there is one interpretation that suggests itself as the most likely explanation for the peculiar distribution of spellings, namely that the different “orthographies” come from different sets of *glossae collectae*, or interlinear glosses, which were put together and reorganized into semi-alphabetical order. In total, there are 25 interpretamenta in the Épinal manuscript, plus one only attested in Erfurt, which transmit 31 instances of wyn or thorn (cf. Appendix). If the assumption is correct that they represent the spelling system of one set, or a small number of sets, of *glossae collectae*, it should be possible to identify the source texts.

In fact, with three exceptions, the lemmata of the glosses in question occur either in Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* (47, 118, 162, 388, 444, 601, 613, ?628, 763, 845, 846, 1014, 1068, 1071) or in Paulus Orosius’ *Historiae Adversum Paganos* (532, ?542, 738, 741, 757, 760, 769, ?1037, 1093). The exceptions are glosses 173 (a Bible gloss), 564 (possibly from the Abavus glossary; cf. Pfeifer Old English Glosses (Anm. 2), 96) and 1059 (lemma and interpretation probably from Jerome’s *Commentaria in Naum*). While the Orosius batches have already been identified and collated by Lindsay,³³ it has only recently been discovered to what extent the glossaries of the Leiden family are indebted to Isidore’s *Etymologies*;³⁴ this also extends to the glosses in Épinal/Erfurt.³⁵

As Lindsay has pointed out, identifying sources of glossary items consists of more than finding a text in which the lemma in question appears. Single words often occur in various texts, and it is only when there are several words coming from the same chapter or passage that the origin of a group of lemmata can be identified with any certainty.³⁶ Yet, some of the all-Latin items, with interpretations that extend to longer phrases, demonstrate their affiliation with the *Etymologies* beyond doubt, for example, the following two items from the A and C batches, respectively.

³³ Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal* (Anm. 10), 23–31; cf. also Schlutter, *Zum Epinalglossar* (Anm. 25).

³⁴ Isidore’s *Etymologies* were identified as a source of the Leiden glossary by Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin Anglo-Saxon Glossary* (Anm. 10); Porter, *Isidore’s Etymologiae* (Anm. 10), 9, however, has pointed out that “the *Etymologiae* played a far greater role in ‘Leiden’ than Hessels suspected.”

³⁵ Pfeifer lists 17–18, 39, 167, 235, 388, 391, 430, 445, 449, 458, 786, 839, 873, 875–6, 891, 905, 907, 1064 as “probable borrowings from Isidore’s *Etymologies*” (Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), xlv, liv), some of them among the glosses which Lindsay identified as *Hermeneumata* items. In my estimation, many more glosses in Épinal/Erfurt probably derive from the *Etymologies*, but this needs a comprehensive reassessment of the sources of all lemmata, including Latin-Latin glosses. Porter (Porter, *The Antwerp-London Glossaries* (Anm. 10), 163–66) has looked into Lindsay’s *Hermeneumata* batch in the A-section of Épinal/Erfurt and has come to the same conclusion.

³⁶ Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal* (Anm. 10), v.

Épinal, fol. 3^r cd, l. 27: *Auiaria : secreta nemora quod haues frequentant*

Isidor, *Etymologiae*, XVII.vi.9: *Aviaria secreta nemora, dicta quod ibi aves frequentant*. ‘An aviaria is a hidden grove so called because it is the haunt of birds (*avis*).’

Épinal, fol. 4^r ab, l. 2: *Cetra : scutum loreum quo utuntur afri et hispani*

Isidor, *Etymologiae*, XVIII.xii.5: *Scetra scutum loreum sine lingo, quo utuntur Afri et Mauri*. ‘A [*s*] *cetra* (i.e. *caetra*) is a shield of woven leather without wood, which the Africans and Moors use.’³⁷

In both cases, lemma as well as interpretation clearly derive from the *Etymologies*, or possibly from an Isidorian epitome, as suggested by Porter,³⁸ which establishes that Isidore was used as a source for Épinal/Erfurt. Both items are located in the vicinity of wyn/thorn interpretations: *Auiaria* occurs two words down from 118 *affricus* : *pest-supbind* ‘south-west wind’ and *cetra* right after 173 *cartellus* : *pindil* ‘basket’. This is significant despite the fact that in the glossary the lemmata were rearranged in alphabetical order: the sorting process described above, which mostly involved only the first letter of the alphabet, results in groups of connected glosses – even if the relationship is by no means straightforward.

The first example on folio 3^r, columns cd, seems to belong to a veritable Isidorian batch, which occurs at the very end of the A section (ll. 23–28).³⁹ It is interrupted only by a single gloss on line 26 on an insect from Leviticus (with the incongruous Old English translation *dora* ‘bumblebee’):

23 <i>arbusta</i>	<i>loca in quo arbores nascuntur</i>	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XVII.vi.2 ⁴⁰
24 <i>anser</i>	<i>goos</i> ‘goos’	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XII.vii.52 (or vii.1)
25 <i>affricus</i>	<i>pestsupbind</i> ‘south-west wind’	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XIII.xi.9
26 <i>atticus</i>	<i>dora</i> ‘bumblebee’	Bible, Leviticus 11: 22
27 <i>auiaia</i>	<i>secreta nemora quod haues frequentant</i>	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XVII.vi.9
28 <i>auena</i>	<i>agrestis harundo</i> ‘wild reed’	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XVII.ix.106

³⁷ Here and below, Isidore’s *Etymologies* are quoted from Wallace Martin Lindsay (Hrsg.), *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 2 vols, Oxford 1911; translations come from Barney, Lewis, Beach und Berghof, *The Etymologies* (Anm. 13). Words that correspond to the Épinal entry are highlighted by underline.

³⁸ Porter, Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (Anm. 10).

³⁹ It is situated after four “leftovers” from a Phocas batch which Lindsay identified (Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 16) and one other gloss *archioretys* : *libros duo* from Hieron. *De Vir. Illustr.* 13. Based on the preceding Phocas batch, Pfeifer suggests that *anser* : *goos* derives either from Phocas or from a Hermeneumata gloss. However, as Book XII of the *Etymologies* on animals appears to be strongly represented in Épinal/Erfurt, an Isidorian origin for this gloss is equally likely (Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), 66, n. 117).

⁴⁰ *Arbusta*, *arbor novella et tenera, in qua insertio fieri potest; et dicta arbusta quasi arboris hasta. Alii arbustum locum in quo arbores sunt volunt accipere [...]*. ‘A sapling (*arbustum*) is a new and pliant tree, in which a graft can be made, and it is called *arbustum* as if it were ‘the spear of a tree’ (*arboris hasta*). Others would take *arbustum* as the place where trees grow.’ (Barney, Lewis, Beach und Berghof, *The Etymologies* (Anm. 13), 341).

Pheifer has tentatively identified the Greek-Latin glossary *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* as the source of 118 *affricus* : *pestsubpind* and of the three other wind names occurring in Épinal/Erfurt, 162 *boreus* : *eastnorppind*, 311 *circius* : *uuestnordui[n]d* (only Erfurt) and 452 *fa[v]onius* : *uuestsuduuind* (only Épinal). However, since all four wind names occur in close proximity in Isidore's *Etymologies* in chapter XIII.xi.9–13 on winds, the lemmata may very well derive from this passage.⁴¹ Even the ablative case of the all-Latin item 5^{ef}/5 *fauonio* : *zephyro* finds its correspondence in another section of the *Etymologies* (IX.v.25).

In any case, there seem to be several original groups of wind names in Épinal. Evidence for this hypothesis is provided by 452 *fa[v]onius* : *uuestsuduuind*, which differs not only in terms of the spelling from the other Old English wind names, but also with respect to its position in the glossary. As has been mentioned, the alphabetical sections of Épinal/Erfurt combine different groups of lemmata that are sorted either according to the first letter only or according to the first two letters of a word. All glosses containing *wyn* or *thorn* appear in A-order sections; *fa[v]onius* : *uuestsuduuind*, on the other hand, is the first member of an AB-order batch, which is placed at the end of the F-section and which runs from FA through to FL.⁴² This implies that at least one of the wind names has reached Épinal/Erfurt by a different layer of glosses, whatever its ultimate source.

Another extended Isidore batch surrounds the gloss 613 *lappa* : *clipae* on fol. 7^{ab}/12. With the exception of *laris* : *men* (i.e. *laros* : *mæw* 'gull', cf. above) on line 8, all lemmata along with the Latin parts of interpretations, from at least line 7 as far as line 13, can be identified in the *Etymologies*. The batch is strikingly similar to the one surrounding *affricus*: The material from the *Etymologies* mostly derives from chapters XII on animals and XVII on plants and the straggler in both cases is a gloss on an animal from Leviticus 11:

⁴¹ Pheifer's argument in favour of the *Hermeneumata* as a source (Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), 89, n. 452) is based on the translation of *favonius* as *uuestsuduuind* (rather than *west* wind), which is paralleled by a rendering of *lips* 'south-west wind' as *fauonius* in the *Hermeneumata* (cf. Georg Götz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 3: *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, Leipzig 1892, 172, lines 9–15). This would imply that the Old English interpretations are translations of the Greek, rather than the Latin wind names in the glossary, which doesn't seem very likely. Furthermore, there are other mistakes in the *Hermeneumata* which are not reflected in the Epinal wind names.

⁴² Cf. Pheifer, *Relationship of the Épinal* (Anm. 16), 54.

7 <i>lycisca</i>	<i>canis ex lupo et cane natus</i>	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XII.ii.28 ⁴³
8 <i>laris</i>	<i>men</i> 'sea-gull'	Bible, Leviticus 11: 16
9 <i>limax</i>	<i>snel</i> 'slug'	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XII.v.7
10 <i>lumbricus</i>	<i>regenuuym</i> 'earthworm'	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XII.v.13
11 <i>labrusca</i>	<i>uitis agrestis</i>	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XVII.v.3 ⁴⁴
12 <i>lappa</i>	<i>clīpae</i> 'burdock'	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XVII.ix.66
13 <i>lentum uimen</i>	<i>toch gerd</i> 'pliant branch'	Isidor, <i>Etym.</i> XVII.vii.51

Another similarity with the Isidorian batch described above lies in the fact that it also appears right at the end of an A-order section; the gloss following *lentum uimen* on line 14 *ligustrum : hunaegsugae*, which Pheifer considers a possible Abstrusa item, represents the last word of the L-order section, followed by LA-order glosses.

Comparable batches of glosses from the same source can be found in connection with most of the wyn/thorn words. An Orosius batch which comprises some forty-five items on folio 6v contains 532 *interuentu : þingungae* and 542 *inditas : þa gisetan*.⁴⁵ In addition also the following four glosses are embedded in an extensive Orosius cluster of almost sixty glosses:⁴⁶ 738 *perduellium : þorgifect*, 741 *per seudoterum : þorh ludgaet*, 757 *per anticipationem*⁴⁷ : *þorch ob[u]st* and 760 *per uispellones : þorç byrgeras*.

Incidentally, the three glosses that cannot be attributed to either of the two sources appear in close connection with Isidorian items.⁴⁸ Several explanations are possible: we can imagine that, by coincidence, the three words got attached to the Isidore glosses in the transition from one glossary stage to the next and that the scribe who assembled those glosses is the one responsible for the *p/þ* spellings. On the other hand, it also seems possible that the stragglers are not random addi-

⁴³ *Lycisci autem dicuntur, [...] canes nati ex lupis et canibus, cum inter se forte miscuntur.* 'Dogs born from the chance mating of wolves with dogs are called *lycisci* [...]' (Barney, Lewis, Beach und Berghof, *The Etymologies* (Anm. 13), 253)

⁴⁴ *Labrusca est vitis agrestis [...]*. 'The *labrusca* is a wild vine [...]' (Barney, Lewis, Beach und Berghof, *The Etymologies* (Anm. 13), 339)

⁴⁵ The batch starts with 6^{ab}/33 *intractabilis : unlidouuac* and goes as far as 6^{ef}/6 *incredipans : insonans*. There are three stragglers in the batch that are not from Orosius: ab/38 *inuitiandi : negandi*, cd/9 *iners : asolcaen*, 16 *incissibus quando quaedam inalbabeto littera transponitur* (cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 27; Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), 94 f.).

⁴⁶ This batch starts with 9^{ef}/27 *pestiferum : nigrum uel putridum* and ends with 9^{cd}/8 (= Pheifer 760) *per uispellones : þorç byrgeras*. The only gloss not from Orosius is 9^{ab}/32 *propalatum : manifestum*, a Bible gloss (Hebr. 9:8); cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 28 f.

⁴⁷ The lemma *per anticipationem* does not appear in the standard editions of Orosius' *Historiae*, but it does occur in vi, 11/17 in some of the manuscripts as well as in the *editio princeps* from 1471. Since there is only a single gloss that does not come from Orosius in the entire batch, this implies that the version of Orosius used for the glossary must have included this addition. Book vi, chapter 11 is also the source of 769 *pice sebo : unamaelti sperpi*, another one of the wyn/thorn glosses.

⁴⁸ 173 *cartallus* is preceded by *calculus* (Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.iii.5) and followed by *cetra* (XVIII.xii.5); 564 *lepor* is followed by *lagones* (XX.xiv.6), *luscus* (X.163), *luridus* (X.162) etc; 1059 *uoluola* is placed between *uestibulum* (XV.vii.2) and *uittas* (XIX.xxi.6).

tions, but were triggered by the *Etymologies* themselves: in the case of the biblical gloss 173 *cartellus* : *pindil* ‘basket’, it might have been the explanation of the synonyms *canistrum* and *cophinus* (Isid. *Etym.* X.ix.8–9) which resulted in the inclusion of the word in the glossary. Porter⁴⁹ has identified several instances in the Leiden glossary in which the glossator selected lemmata based on what could be explained with the help of the *Etymologies*; this could be a comparable case.⁵⁰ In a similar way, the gloss 564 *lepor* : *subtilitas uel uuop* might have been a topic of discussion in connection with *lepus*, *leporis* ‘hare’ and *lupus*, *lupi* ‘wolf’, which occur in Isidore’s section on grammar and also make an appearance in the L-section of Épinal/Erfurt.

The last straggler, 1059 *uoluola* : *piupindae* [...] has a very close analogue in a passage from Jerome’s *Commentaria in Naum* (see appendix). The gloss might have been grouped with material from Isidore’s *Etymologies* in a class glossary on plant names. If this gloss is more closely connected to the Isidorian material, the plant name *volvus* ‘a type of edible bulb’ may have served as a trigger. Incidentally, this word appears twice in chapter XVII (ix.88, x.19), which is heavily represented in Épinal/Erfurt and provides the source for four more of the wyn/thorn glosses: 47 *alga* (ix.99), 388 *elleborus* (ix.24), 601 *lactuca* (x.11), 613 *lappa* (ix.66). Of course, such identifications remain speculative, but in view of the heavy contribution of the *Etymologies* to the glossary, they don’t appear to be too far-fetched.

Summary and conclusion

Investigating the glosses that use the characters wyn or thorn in the Épinal (and Erfurt) glossary demonstrates that different orthographic systems were in use among the earliest writers of Old English. The distribution of spellings shows that <p> and are not randomly employed: first of all, wyn and thorn are not mixed with any of the alternative spellings; secondly, they can be pinpointed principally to two sources, Isidore’s *Etymologies* and Orosius’ *History*. This indicates that not all sets of *glossae collectae* that were assembled to construct the Épinal/Erfurt glossary used these characters, but that the scribe of the Épinal manuscript retained (? most of) the spellings of his immediate sources.

It should be pointed out that not all Isidore and Orosius glosses use wyn and thorn; there are various words with alternative spellings (<uu>, <u>; <th>, <d> etc.) that also come from these texts. Since the digraphs appear to have been the standard

⁴⁹ Porter, Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (Anm. 10), 14f.

⁵⁰ *Cartallus* is regularly glossed as *canistrum* or *cophinus*, also in combination with vernacular translations: cf. Abstrusa CA 118 *cartallum* : *canistrum*; *cartallum* : *canistrum .i. cratto* (in an 11th c. manuscript from Prague); or *Cartallum, est canistrum vel cophinus, ut dicit Hugutio* [bishop of Ferrara, c. 1200; gloss listed in du Cange s.v.]; incidentally, Hugutio’s *Liber Derivationum* may very well derive directly from Isidore’s *Etymologies* (Barney, Lewis, Beach and Berghof, *The Etymologies* (Anm. 13), 25).

system used in the Épinal manuscript (cf. above), it is possible that some of the spellings were replaced in the copying process. My impression, however, is that the wyn/thorn glosses belong to specific sections of Epinal/Erfurt, even though this assumption has to remain tentative: clearly, none of the wyn/thorn glosses occurs in the sections of Épinal that are sorted in AB order (which normally follow the A-order batches). Furthermore, within the A-order sections, some of the wyn/thorn words appear close to the beginning or end of the respective section (e.g. *affricus*, *boreus*, *lappa*) and there are several clusters of wyn/thorn interpretations. This may indicate that the glosses derive from specific sets of *glossae collectae* from Isidore and Orosius. Another hypothesis is that various scribes using different orthographies added interlinear glosses to the two texts, since wyn/thorn glosses also appear close to each other in the source texts of the lemmata.

Searching for the sources of the wyn/thorn glosses has opened a Pandora's box since many of the previous attributions have to be reconsidered, especially with respect to the contribution of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. The examples presented in this paper clearly show that Pheifer's comment on a lack of extended batches from *Isidore* needs to be revised:

The material from these two sources [i.e. Virgil scholia and Isidore's *Etymologies*] is sufficient to prove independent derivation, although the absence of extended batches suggests that the compiler used short lists of *glossae collectae* rather than the full text of a Virgil commentary or of the *Etymologies*.⁵¹

However, at this stage, the exact amount of Isidorian material in Épinal/Erfurt cannot be assessed. Porter has identified "abbreviation of the *Etymologiae* as a general academic strategy at Canterbury" (24). More research, encompassing the entire material of Latin-Latin (or Greek-Latin) glosses, will be necessary to clarify the extent of the indebtedness of Épinal/Erfurt to Isidore. In connection with the sources of the lemmata, the relationship of vernacular and Latin interpretation should also be taken into consideration.

⁵¹ Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), liv.

Appendix

Each entry includes the following information:

- number in Pheifer's (or Sweet's) edition of the Old English elements of Épinal/Erfurt,⁵²
- indication of folio, columns and line in the Épinal manuscript,
- lemma and interpretation in Épinal and parallel forms of interpretation in Er(furt), C(orpus), L(eiden), a translation of the interpretation based on Bosworth & Toller,⁵³ and
- the source of the lemma (Latin text of Isidore's Etymologies from Lindsay,⁵⁴ translation by Barney et al.,⁵⁵ Latin text of Orosius' History from Zangemeister,⁵⁶ translation by Fear).⁵⁷

47: 1^vab/28 *alga* : p\|u/aar

Er *uar*, C – L xlvii, 23 *alga* : *uuac* (OE *wār* 'sea-weed, waur')

Isidore, *Etym.* XVII.ix.99: *Alga nascitur in aquis, segetis similis*. 'Seaweed (*alga*) grows in water, and is like a crop of grain.'

118: 3^ccd/25 *affricus* : *pestsubpind*

Er *uestsuduwind*, C 102 *pestsuðpind*, L – (OE *westsūþ-wind* 'south-west wind')

Isidore, *Etym.* XIII.xi.9: *Africus a propria regione vocatus; in Africa enim initium flandi sumit*. 'Africus is named from its particular region, for it is in Africa that it starts to blow.'

162: 3^vcd/34 *boreus* : *eastnorþpind*

Er *eustnorduind*, C 312 *eastnorðpind*, L – (C *ab borea eastannorþan* – Orosius) (OE *eāstnorþ-wind* 'north-east wind')

Isid, *Etym.* XIII.xi.13: *Idem et Boreas, quia ab Hyperboreis montibus flat*. 'It [*Aquilo*] is also called Boreas, because it blows from the Hyperborean mountains.'

173: 4^rab/1 *cartellus* : *pindil*

Er *pindil*, C 348 *pindil*, L – (OE *windel* 'basket')

?Vulgate (Deut. 26:2, 4; Jer. 6:9): *in cartallo / cartallum / ad cartallum*

52 Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2); Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* (Anm. 26)

53 Joseph Bosworth and Thomas Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford 1882–1921.

54 Lindsay, *Isidori* (Anm. 37).

55 Barney, Lewis, Beach and Berghof, *The Etymologies* (Anm. 13).

56 Karl Zangemeister (Hrsg.), *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII: accredit ejusdem liber apologeticus*, Wien 1882 (*Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 5).

57 Andy T. Fear (Hrsg.), *Orosius: Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, Liverpool 2010.

388: [not in Epinal, sections containing end of C, D and E are missing in Epinal]
Er *elleborus* : *poedibergæ*, C 736 *þung poedeberge*, L – (OE *wede-berge* ‘plant used against madness, hellebore’)

Isidore, *Ety.* XVII.ix.24: *Elleborum* memorant in Graecia circa Elleborum quondam fluvium plurimum gigni, atque inde a Graecis appellari. ‘They record that much hellebore (*elleborum*) grows in Greece near the river Elleborum, and thence it is so called by the Greeks.’ (cf. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 388: “? Isidore, *Ety.* xvii. 9/24”)

444: 5^{ef}/13 *facundia* : *eloquentia* vel *þoot*

Er *puoo/d/*, C – L – (OE *wōþ* ‘voice, song, speech’)

Isidore, *Ety.* X.171 or, more probably, VIII.vii.8: *Saturici autem dicti, sive quod pleni sint omni facundia, sive a saturitate et copia [...]* ‘Satirists (*saturicus*) are so called either because they are filled with all eloquence, or from fullness (*saturitas*) and abundance [...]

532: 6^{cd}/10 *interuentu* : *þingungae*

Er *ingungae*, C 1093 *þingunge*, L – (OE *þingung* ‘intercession, intervention’)

Orosius, *Hist.* 3.23.66: *interventu solius fidei Christianae* ‘only through the coming of the One True Christian Faith’ (cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 27)

542: 6^{cd}/24 *inditas* : *þagisetan*

Er *ða gissetai*,⁵⁸ C 1103 *ða gesettan*, L – (OE *ða* demonstrative?, OE *gesettan* ‘set, put, place’)

The lemma probably derives from one of the following passages of Orosius’s *History*: 3.23.12 *colonias in Indis conditas* ‘the colonies established in India’ (Cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 27).

5.16.6 *homines laqueis collo inditis* ‘the men had nooses tied round their necks’

5.18.8 *ciues Romanos indicta caede iugularunt* ‘condemned all the Roman citizens to death and slaughtered them’ (cf. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 542: “did the glossator’s text read *indictos*?”)

564: 7^{ab}/19 *lepor* : *subtilitas* vel *uuoþ*

Er *puod*, C 1196 *wooð*, L xlviii, 21 *leporem* : *decorem* (OE *wōþ* ‘eloquent, lofty speech’)

?Abavus glossary LE 22 *lepor sermo subtilis uel leuis* (cf. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 564)

601: 7^{ef}/18 *lactuca* : *þuþistil*

Er *popistil*, 1179 *þuðistel*, L – (OE *þū-þistel* ‘sow-thistle’)

⁵⁸ Pheifer has *þa gissetai*, Sweet *ða gissetan*; the form in the manuscript is clearly *ðagissetai* (fol. 7^{ef}/41).

Isidore, *Etym.* XVII.x.11: *Lactuca dicta est quod abundantia lactis exuberet* ‘Lettuce (*lactuca*) is so called because it flows with an abundance of mild (*lac*, gen. *lactis*)’ (cf. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 601: “confused with *lactuca agrestis* ‘wild lettuce’ (Her. 558/23, etc.) because of its white, milky juice.” The Isidore passage explains nicely why the confusion arose.)

613: 7^{ab}/12 *lappa* : *clīpae*

Er *clifae*, C 1184 *clibe*, L xv, 36 *lappa* : *clite*; xviii, 2 *lappa* : *clate* (OE *clīpe*, *clife* ‘burdock’)

Isidore, *Etym.* xvii, 9.66: *Lappa dicta quod habeat caulem ingentem per terram dispositam*. ‘Burdock (*lappa*) is so called because it has a huge stalk extending across the ground.’ (cf. Porter, *Isidore’s Etymologiae* (Anm. 10), 27)

628: 7^{ef}/16 *morgit* : *milcīp*

Er *milcid*, C 1323 *milcit*, L – (OE *meolcian* ‘to milk’)

?Isidore, *Etym.* I.xxxvii.30 (on a passage from Virg., *Ecl.* 3, 90): *Qui hos ergo diligit, faciat quae contra naturam sunt, id est, iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos*. ‘Therefore, whoever loves them would do things contrary to nature, that is, he would yoke foxes and milk billy-goats.’

Cf. Jan Hendrik Hessels, *An Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* Cambridge 1890, xxxiv: “r for l: M 257 (*morgit* for *mulget*)”; Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 628: “Cf. Philox. MU 8 *mulget* ἀμέλ(γ)ει [...] : *morgit* is one of the ‘purely colloquial, half-Romance forms’ noted by Sweet, OET 10.”

738: 9^{ab}/11 *perduellium* : *þorgifect*

Er *dorhgifecilae*, C 1537 *þorhgefeht*, L (*duellionis* – *belli*) (OE *þurh gefeoht* ‘through battle’)

Orosius, *Hist.* 5.22.9: *in tali ergo uel defectu uel perduellione sociourum* ‘During such a defection, or act of treason, by our allies’

Cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 29; Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 738: “*þor(h)gifect* ‘war’ (here only) may be a nonce-word coined from *perduellum*.”

741: 9^{ab}/16 *perseudoterum* : *þorh ludgaet*

Er *dorh ludgaed*, C 1538 *ðorh ludgæt*, L – (OE *þurh* ‘through’, *lud-geat* ‘back door’)

Orosius, *Hist.* 7.6.17 *per pseudothyrum* [...] *euaserit* ‘he escaped through a secret gate’ or 7.29.3 *tamquam per pseudothyrum inducitur* ‘so to speak, inveigled [...] through a secret passage’ (Cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 29)

757: 9^{ab}/33 *per anticipationem* : *þorch obst*

Er *dorh obust*, C 1546 *ðorh obst*, L – (OE *þorh* ‘through’, OE *ofost* ‘haste’)

Orosius, *Hist.* 6.11.17: *magnisque stragibus factis [per anticipationem] plurimas praedas agit*. ‘After indulging in much slaughter, he [in anticipation? hurriedly??] carried off an even greater amount of booty.’

The lemma *per anticipationem* only appears in certain manuscripts of Orosius's *History* (R² = Rehdigeranus 108, 9th c., T = Monacensis 6380, 10th / 11th c., Z = Leningradensis FV 1 n. 9, 1st half 9th c.; cf. Zangemeister 386) as well as in the *editio princeps* from 1471, which is based on manuscript X² = Monacensis 22025, 11th/12th century (cf. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet (Hrsg.), *Orose: Histoires (Contre les Païens)*, 3 Bde, Paris 1990, xcv). The lemma of gloss 769 *pice sebo* also derives from Orosius 6.11 (see below).

Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 29) lists this gloss among the Orosius words, but does not indicate a particular passage; Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 757 tentatively identifies Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ii. 177.4 as a source.

760: 9^ocd/8 *per uispellones* : *þorçh by\r/geras* (c erased but still visible)

Er *dorh buyrgenas*, C 1547 *ðorh byrge[ras]*, L – (OE *byrgere* 'burier')

Orosius, *Hist.* 7.10.7: *cuius cadauer populari sandapila per uespillones exportatum* 'His body was carried out in a pauper's coffin by the public pall-bearers' (Cf. Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 29)

763: 9^ocd/14 *perpendicularum* : *colþred*

Er *coldraed*, C 1548 *colðred*, L 36 *perpendicularum* ... : *pundar* (OE *col-þræd* 'coal thread, plumb-line')

Isidore, *Etym.* XIX.xviii.1/2 *Perpendicularum est quod semper adpenditur*. 'The plumb-line (*perpendicularum*) is so named because it is always set to hang down (*apendere*).'

769: 10^oab/32 *pice seuo* : *unamaelti sperpi*

Er *cinamelti spreui*, C 1581 *unamaelte smeoruue*, L – (OE *un-amelt* 'unmelted', OE *smeru* 'tallow')

Orosius, *Hist.* 6.11.26: *cupas pice sebo et scindulis repletas* 'they filled barrels with pitch and tallow'

845: 11^oef/17 *quoquo modo* : *aengi þinga*

Er *aengi dinga*, C 1701 *aenge þinga*, L – (OE *ænig* 'any', *þing* 'thing')

Isidore, *Etym.* V.xxvii.3: *Supplicium proprie dictum non qui quoquo modo punitur, sed ita damnatur ut bona eius consecrentur in publico redigantur*. 'The term penalty (*supplicium*), strictly speaking, is not used with regard to someone who is punished in any way at all, but with regard to one who is sentenced in such a way that his goods are "set apart as sacred" (*consecrare*) and are paid into the public treasury.' Or possibly Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.xv.11: *In maleficiis quoquo modo inferatur discordias excitat*. 'However it [*sideritis*] is introduced into magical practices, it arouses disagreement.'

846: 11^oef/18 *quin etiam* : *aec þan*

Er *aec don*, C 1695 *aec ðon*, L – (OE *eac þan* 'in addition to that')

Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.ii.6: *Quin etiam pecudes, armenta et iumenta sale maxime provocantur ad pastum.* ‘And even livestock, flocks, and beasts of burden are called to pasture particularly with salt.’

1014: 14ⁱab/15a *talpa* : *pand*

Er *uuond*, C 1973 *pond*, L 227 *talpa* : *uoond* (OE *wond* ‘a mole’)

Isidore, *Etym.* XII.iii.5: *Talpa dicta, quod sit damnata caecitate perpetua tenebris [...].* ‘The mole (*talpa*) is so called because it is condemned to perpetual blindness in the dark (*tenebrae*).’

1037: 14ⁱcd/2 *tantisper* : *pus suipae*

Er *dus suidae*, C 1982 *ðus suiðe*, L – (OE *þus swiðe* ‘so much’)

?Orosius, *Hist.* 3.15.3: *Pontius dux eorum in tantum abusus est uictoriae securitate* ‘their commander Pontius was so sure of his victory’ (cf. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 1037: “? A gloss on Orosius iii. 15/3 *in tantum abusus est*: cf. Cyrillus 300/46 *ἐν τοσούτῳ ... in tanto tantisper*.”)

The exact lemma *tantisper* does not occur in Orosius, though it is listed in Lindsay’s T-batch (Lindsay, *The Corpus*, Épinal (Anm. 10), 30) with the label “frequent”.

1059: 14^vab/21 *uoluola* : *piupindae herba similis hederæ quæ u[i]tibus et frugibus circumdari solet*

Er *uuidubindæ*, C 2158 *uuduuiuinde*, L *involuco* : *uudubindlae* (OE *wudu-winde* ‘wood-bine’)

Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Naum*, 1:10: *Voluola* [Al. *Vulvula*] *autem herba est similis hederæ, quæ vitibus et virgultis circumdari solet, et in longum serpere.* (Migne, PL 25, 1239)

In my view, both lemma and the Latin part of the interpretamentum are based on the above passage from Jerome’s commentary in Naum and not, as suggested by Pheifer, on Pliny xxi.23: *est flos non dissimilis (lilio) herba quam conuoluolum uocant, nascens per fructeta* (quoted in Pheifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 1059).

1068: 14^vab/33 *uertigo* : *edpalla*

Er *edualla*, C 2096 *eduuelle*, L xlvii, 16 *vertigo* : *edualle* (OE *ed-wille* ‘a whirlpool’)

Isidore, *Etym.* IV.vii.3: *Vertigo autem est quotienscumque ventus consurgit, et terram in circuitum mittit.* ‘Vertigo (“spinning”) occurs whenever the wind rises and sends the earth into a spin.’

1071: 14^vab/37 *uespas* : *paeffsas*

Er *uuaeps*, C 2098 *uuaefsas*, L – (OE *wæps* ‘a wasp’)

Isidore, *Etym.* XII.viii.4: *Vespæ ...* ‘Wasps (*vespa*) ...’ (or viii.2)

1093: 14^vcd/31 *uitiato oculo* : *unþyctgi egan*

Er *undyctis ægan* C 2133 *unðyhtge egan*, L – (OE *unþyhtig eāgan* ‘weak eyes’)

Orosius, *Hist.* 4.6.38: *qui uitioso oculo haec uident* 'For they perceive these present troubles with diseased eyes' (cf. Otto B. Schlutter, Weitere Beiträge zur altenglischen Wortforschung. Altenglische Entlehnungen aus dem Keltischen, in: *Anglia* 36 (1912), 59–78, at 69 n5; Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses* (Anm. 2), n. 1093)